Vol. V. Numb. 19.

The EXAMINER.

From Friday January 29, to Monday February 1, 1713.

Reſpice quantum poſt te reliqueris ; intuere quantum petis.
Q. Curtius.

IF it were Lawful to *Commute* for *Faction* and *Sedition*, or to take advantage of the *Popery* of the *Whigs*, and grant Indulgences for Crimes of that vile Nature and pernicious Tendency, I could almoſt afford to Compound with them upon very eaſy Terms; provided they would be prevailed with to bate me One or Two of their moſt crying Sins, and particularly their Misbehaviour and repeated Inſolences againſt the Sacred Perſon of *Her Majeſty:* Whoſe Gentleneſs towards them, whoſe tender Concern for the Welfare of *Both Parties*, and univerſal Love and Care of all *Her* People, add a double Tincture to the Blackneſs of their Ingratitude, and render the Iniquity of diſobliging *Her* ſo much the more inexcuſable; becauſe I verily Believe, the Abuſes of *Her* Lenity and Goodneſs are not quite ſo profitable a Perquiſite and Revenue to them, as the Abuſes of *Her* Favour have formerly been. It is Natural enough for Men delighting in War, given to Change, and Lovers of Contention, to thwart and oppoſe the Enemies to their Scheme, and by taking Shelter under the Umbrage of miſtaken *Liberty*, to Quarrel with every earthly Power, that promotes Peace and Unity, and ſtudies to preſerve the Laws and Conſtitution of a Country. But yet the groſſeſt Wickedneſs uſed to ſupport it ſelf by a little good Senſe, at leaſt by a little Cunning and Subtilty; and when the worſt of Men have been Diſappointed of their Hopes, and Detected in their Villainy, it has been ſome Satisfaction to them, to be able ſay, that the Contrivance was well-laid, their purpos'd Miſchief had its Graces as well as Misfortunes, and that, as a very compleat Proficient in this way ſaid upon the like Occaſion, Tho' they might deſerve to be *Hang'd*, they did not deſerve to be *Taken*. Whereas our Modern Projectors of Miſchief, Bungle their abſurd Undertakings after ſo wretched a manner, that they more than deſerve to be Unſucceſsful: And there is not that Decency in their Malice, which might be expected from Men of long Practice and deep Experience in thoſe Affairs. Their Deſigns are the *worſt Tim'd* of any that ever pretended to the Name of Politicks; and by a Thouſand Inſtances of their common Conduct, it appears that they pay no ſort of Regard to *Perſons* and *Characters*. Elſe how comes it to paſs that they Preach up ſuch Doctrines, and Manage by ſuch Principles, as are only Calculated for a Seaſon of Perſecution, and at leaſt for ſuch a *Reign*, which is capable of bearing the Scandal of *Tyranny* and *Arbitrary* Proceedings, with ſome Colour of Reaſon and Juſtice? Is this a Topick fit to be meddled with, at a Time when exceſſive Lenity and Gentleneſs is by many thought the only *Foible* of the Government? Was Reſiſtance made a *Queen* and a *Miniſtry*, who never did any thing to make it neceſſary, except by Pardoning and Overlooking its near Approaches to open Rebellion? Grant it were ſo: Yet is this a proper Subject for the Mouths of thoſe, who *De facto* are the greateſt Tyrants? Is it uſual for Men to clamour and Suſpect, to be Jealous, Reſtleſs and Seditious, as if they really were Ill-treated and Oppreſs'd, and in Danger of being made Slaves, when in Truth the only Proof of it is, that they go on daily to Perſecute their Superiors, and carry their *Liberty* (if it may be permitted me to call it by that venerable Name) to a higher Pitch, than Legal Power ought ever to arrive at? So very abſurd and prepoſterous are the *Whigs* in the *Timing* of their Conduct, and ſo averſe to true Liberty, or ſo wretchedly miſtaken in their Notions about it, that they are known to have Careſs'd the *greateſt Tyrants*, and to Behave moſt Inſolently towards the *Beſt* and *Gentleſt Princes:* But whether the Reflection bears hardeſt upon their Paſſions, or their Principles, I am not able to Determine.

Conſidering this ſtrange Inconſiſtency, which muſt unavoidably occaſion many a black Stroke in the Compiling of their *True Hiſtory*, and ſerve to Account for many Facts and ſurprizing Incidents, which are not taken notice of at preſent, becauſe all Sorts of Monſters and Wonders ceaſe to be ſo, by growing Common and Numerous: it will be natural for us to enquire, what other Reaſons and Views they go upon. If they either Miſtake or Deſert their own Intereſt, may they not poſſibly be Bigotted to the Intereſt of a few Leaders, who Betray every thing but Themſelves? This ſhould ſeem to be their Aim, by their being ſo fond of *Names*; and to ſuch a Degree, that they really look upon every *Civil Liſt* as a *Muſter-roll* of *Enemies*, unleſs it be of their own making, and filling up. It is very certain, that in all Ages and Nations, the true Patriot and Lover of his Country, whenever that Country frown'd upon him, would affect Retirement, and avoid as much as poſſible being made the Idol of the *Mob*, being ſet at the Head of Crowds and popular Commotions, and never aim'd at introducing himſelf by Clamour and Mutiny. The contrary Behaviour was ſufficient Proof of an ambitious deſigning Spirit, even where there was no other viſible defect in a Stateſman's Character. Beſides, whatever they may think of their preſent Conduct, their Zeal deſerves but little Thanks from thoſe, for whoſe Uſe it was intended; and who, if they encourage and provoke it to further Exceſſes, will not fail to confirm us in our Opinion of their weakneſs and inabiliites for Government. The *Whigs* cannot uſe the *Old Miniſtry* worſe, than by loving them yet more than they do: For were they really as free from all Faults, as the Nation is full of Demonſtrations to the Contrary, yet no civiliz'd State will permit a *Faction* to chuſe *Miniſters* for the Publick; and the bare Heading of a *Faction* is an Objection that overweighs ten thouſand Virtues. Merit muſt never be Clamorous, nor force its way into a Government; or make a *Demand* for Employment, which ought always to go by *Favour*. Too popular a Character was ever dangerous to the Perſon who bore it, and to the Country where it made a Noiſe; eſpecially where any of the *Military Virtues* are the principal Ingredients in the Compoſition: And of all Nations the moſt Jealous on theſe occaſions, are thoſe, that have the quickeſt Senſe, and moſt refin'd Notions of *Liberty*. My *Readers* will ſee, that I am content to bear a Part in the *Farce* of the *Whigs*; to look grave at their *Banter*; and to humour their reigning Faculty, by ſuppoſing the groſſeſt Falſhoods to be True, and taking it for granted, that they really have *Heroes* among them: But making the moſt of their Conduct is ſtill expoſing it; and their Cauſe, even at the beſt, is however bad enough for Men of their extraordinary Principles to engage in.

Perhaps after all, theſe People have no certain Aim at preſent; but are only laying in Preparations for an *After-game*, and keep themſelves in a Readineſs againſt the *Demiſe* of the *Crown*. Only Time muſt try the Validity of theſe Hopes and Meaſures. As I am very ſure, that they do not Threaten and Bully us in the Name of the

the *Succeſſor*, by *Her Permiſſion*; ſo I dare affirm, it is neither for *Her* Intereſt, Honour or Service, nor for their own. The beſt way to ſecure any *Succeſſion*, is to adhere to the *Law* and *Conſtitution*, of which that is a Part; and to the *Church*, on whoſe Account it was chiefly made: Not to puſh Things ſo far, as if they really intended to anticipate it by an *Uſurpation*. As on the one Hand they ought to promote an entire Friendſhip between the *Succeſſor* and the *Perſon* in *Poſſeſſion*; ſo on the other, they ought to be diligent in calming Men's Minds, in eaſing the *Miniſtry*, and healing all our Diviſions and Animoſities, that there may be no attempt of Violence to alienate the Crown, and no uneaſineſs in a rich, happy, and potent Prince, to accept it. If they look upon the *Succeſſion* as a *Revolution*, they certainly mean another *Form of Government*, and not another *Queen:* And I hope they will be thus far diſappointed, as to ſuffer Heaven to defer that Affair to a *Criſis*, when we are better prepar'd for it; and that it will be attended with none of thoſe Diſorders, which are the Harveſt of their Ambition. If they raiſe Clamours, and make a Buſtle, as they did at the *Revolution*, only to give themſelves the Air of being Conſiderable, and to beſpeak the Notice of a *Prince*, who perhaps may not know them; let them enſure againſt the ill Conſequences of keeping up our Diviſions, 'till that Juncture happens. They may depend on it, that thoſe, who do know them, will, for very honeſt Reaſons, take care that no other Prince ſhall ever know them by fatal Experience. If they conſider the *Succeſſion* as *utter Ruin* to the *Tories*, the *Majority* of their *Fellow Subjects*; what an advantageous Argument do they thereby put into the Mouths of the *Jacobites?* Who will not fail to urge the ſame *Caſe* of *Neceſſity*, and *Doctrine* of *Self-Preſervation* againſt a *Succeſſor*, which was once ſo vigorouſly advanced againſt a *Monarch* in *Poſſeſſion*.

I do not pretend to cure the *Whigs* of their immoderate Love of Changes and Turns in Government: But I would at leaſt perſuade them, not to haſten a *Change*, till they find it is like to prove for the better. Should the *Demiſe* of the *Crown* happen, before they are *Reform'd*; and I had almoſt wiſh'd, it would never happen till then; their preſent Sett of Principles would hardly ſerve to recommend them to their *new Governor*. During that ſhort interval, when they could afford to be commonly Civil to the Court of *Hanover*, they might probably take a ſlender Acquaintance with the Maxims and Temper of that *Illuſtrious Family*; but ſurely they will not offer to ſay, that they hope to ſucceed in the good Graces of any one Prince now reſideing there, by the Merit of their preſent Conduct and Behaviour. Since they have had the Confidence to Report the *Throne* to be *Vacant*, they will at leaſt give me leave to ſuppoſe it fill'd with the Princeſs *Sophia*. Imagine then that theſe People continu'd to Act as we every Day ſee them; and what Title could they poſſibly plead to that *Excellent Princeſs*'s Favour? Would they, becauſe ſhe is ſo much Older than *Her Majeſty*, entertain *Her* with Funeral Ceremonies, with Emblems of Death, and the near Proſpect of *Her* Mortality? Would they be perpetually enquiring into *Her* Years, teaze *Her* with the Uncertainty of *Her* Health, and Weakneſs of *Her* Title, and require more than *Common Security* for the *Succeſſion* to *Her* Crown? Such Congratulatory Forms would ſound but oddly to a Princeſs, who had liv'd many Years among Dutiful and Obedient Subjects. What ſtrange Ideas muſt *She* have of *Britiſh Loyalty*, where to direct *Her* in the Choice of *Her* Servants, to miſrepreſent *Her* Character and Proceedings to Foreigners, to Inſult *Her* with the popular Aggrandizement of *Her* own ungrateful Favourites, to ſtrip *Her* of the aſſiſtance of *Her* wiſeſt and moſt faithful Friends and Counſellors, by Calumny and falſe Accuſations, and to Poyſon the Minds of *Her* Subjects with Fears and Jealouſy, and alienate their Hearts and Affections, muſt be miſcall'd ſerving the Publick, and paſs under the Notion of Zeal for *Her* Honour and Safety? Sowing Diſcord and Diſſention, Quarreling with every State-Tranſaction, Libelling the *Miniſtry*, only becauſe they are a *Miniſtry*, Accuſing them *out* of *Parliament* without *Right*, and *in Parliament* without *Reaſon*, Oppoſing their Sovereign in every *Court* in *Europe*, Idolizing *Her* Enemies, and making War upon *Her* Friends, both at Home and Abroad, would appear to be very unaccountable Proofs of Duty and Affection, in the Eyes of a wiſe and underſtanding Monarch, who had not the Honour to be throughly acquainted with a *Whigiſh Faction*, that conſtant unalterable Friend to *Crown'd Heads*. A *Succeſſor* would be ſurpriz'd to find, that the more *She* oppos'd *Popery*, the greater Danger there would be of its coming in; unleſs a few *factious* Creatures, of all Religions, or of none, were empower'd to keep it out, in ſpite to a Majority, of the pureſt Religion under Heaven. As ridiculous Lyes might then be invented, of Foreign Invaſions, and the Landing of *Jeſuits*, as ever; and unleſs the whole *Houſe* of *Savoy* and *Orleans* were knock'd on the Head, the *Pretender* would never Dye, and be ever now and then in danger of turning *Proteſtant*. But amidſt all the refin'd Management of the *Whigs*, I wonder how they would be able to draw up their *Bill* of *Services*, and in what Terms they would *Addreſs* their new Monarch. I can imagine one of their *Congratulatory Papers* ſetting out with the following pious *Preamble*.

" Whereas it has been found by Experience, that " nothing more viſibly tends to the Security of the " *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Honour* of the *Crown*, the Eſta- " bliſhment of the *Conſtitution*, and the Peace and Wel- " fare of theſe Realms, than a due Support of the " *Church* of *England*, a high Veneration for the *Royal* " *Prerogative*, and a conſtant Endeavour to promote " Unity and Concord, and ſuppreſs *Schiſms*, *Factions* " and *Diſorders:* Therefore WE, *&c.*" But in what manner the *Whigs* would finiſh this *Admirable Form*, and where they would find *Names* to ſubſcribe to it, without great Violence to their known Modeſty, I am perfectly at a Loſs to determine.

We ſee then, how little there is of good Senſe and common Prudence in all their preſent Conduct. *Menage*, ſpeaking of the *Tramontane Clergy*, their Power and Politicks, ſays, *That in* Italy *or* Spain *he would certainly be a* Prieſt, *tho' he were as ſure to be Damn'd for it.* I know ſome *Tories*, who are apt to talk as favourably of the *Whigs*, whenever they ſet aſide Principle, and would argue only upon Profit. But the publick Proceedings of the *Faction* clear up this Miſtake; and plainly ſhew us, that they have no more regard to their own *Intereſt*, than to that of their *Country*.

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LONDON: Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1713.